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ex emphasized this particular source of physical satisfaction. Of eleven women who were asked directly, fifteen did say that they preferred having children to intercourse, but almost invariably they added, "Because my children will give my funeral feasts." There were several women who said they did not want any more children, because feeding them meant so much work. Economic habits, therefore, react directly upon behavior and attitudes of mothers.

513 At night the child shares a mat with its mother. It sleeps alone with
534 her until the father resumes intercourse with his wife. This is supposedly when the child is old enough to sit up alone or even to crawl about. It may be significant that no effort is made to hasten the child's development in these respects. It should be noted that the baby is not necessarily displaced when its parents resume intercourse. It may still
535 be kept on the same mat. In fact, rather scandalized gossip had it that the death of one child was due to its being crushed accidentally by its parents during sex relations. In addition, if the father has more than one wife he may spend at least half his nights in another household, and then the child sleeps undisturbed with its mother. If the parents do not permit the child to share the sleeping mat with them, the infant is placed with some other adult or an older sibling on a sleeping mat in the common living room.

534 The time at which a man resumes intercourse with his wife after childbirth varies greatly. So far only the time recognized in formal statements has been mentioned. In sex histories given by women it became apparent that men might resume relationships with their wives much sooner and much later, depending on other sex adjustments open to the man. It is true that women, particularly when burdened with large families, sometimes reproach their husbands for undue haste in this respect. Again we have a reflection of economic pressure upon sex attitudes. Since there is a very clear idea of the connection between the
● 542 sexual act and childbearing, and since each additional child places extra subsistence burdens on the woman, there is ample reason for her to develop reluctance after a time toward both intercourse and childbearing. This attitude of reluctance, although far from consistent, is evident in ways that will be referred to later, when sex practices are discussed in more detail.

INFANT'S EARLY TRAINING

534 So far in discussing the infancy period, we have been concerned with
544 the role of the mother and father, the feeding of the infant, and its experiences in bodily contacts and support. The early sex experiences

[35] month. This, incidentally, may indicate the uniqueness of the pressure many persons place on their children in our culture.

[36] Weaning rarely, if ever, occurs before the child can walk and therefore is purposely discussed in the following chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

[37] Two cautions should be exposed to guard against overgeneralization: First, one month of this material is unquestioned, second, there is a great range of experiences. As far as possible the causes of this range has been indicated. It deserves emphasis because it would be highly erroneous to think that the culture of Atimelang widely conveyed individuals.

[38] The Alorese infant has fairly high sensory gratifications, it suffers no [39] oppression of infantile sexuality, and it is not disciplined into the early acquisition of physical and intellectual skills and controls. The child source of frustration seems to be in feeding. However, this occurs in the period of life when ingestive gratification is probably of primary importance to the developing organism.

[40] [41] The Alorese mother has economic responsibilities that may make her [42] ambivalent the birth of a child less cheerfully and care for it with less solicitude than she might in another culture. And in addition, the culture undermines the satisfactions of nursing for the mother. These factors that motivate against the development of a solicitous and nurturant attitude should be balanced against the fact that the culture does not emphasize the difficulties of childbirth as a physiological process. Nor does it foster an attitude of self-sacrifice and abnegation in connection with bearing children.

[43] Interestingly enough, the advantages of childbirth are phrased in terms of self-interest and the prestige accruing from one's deeds *from*. The father is shoved off at birth but is given opportunity to express delight in the child during infancy. However, his hostilities turn on it then only if he is not engrossed in financial and economic occupations, and if he is not devoting part of his time to other households. In other words, the satisfactions and intensities of fatherhood are cut into by a series of more real prestige demands. It is definitely the less busy—that is, the less important—father who has time to be a good mother substitute.

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IDEAS OF PROCREATION

[192] The ideas of the physiology of procreation in Atimelang and their relationship to sexual morality deserve some detailed consideration. A child is thought to be formed from an accumulation of seminal and menstrual fluids in the mother—and menstrual fluid is considered the result of "things in a woman's breasts like eggs, which break and run down into her abdomen." For the first two months the child is believed [183] to remain in liquid form. It is during this period that the mother develops food preferences. In the third month pieces of flesh begin to solidify, and the mother feels dizzy and nauseated. In the fourth month the child's feet are formed, and a tiny placental cord appears.

At this time the fetus is said to resemble a banana blossom. This is also the period when the mother begins to feel movement. In the fifth month the fetus has solidified as far as its abdomen and begins to kick slowly and gently. In the sixth month the whole body is formed, but the ears, mouth, nose, and genitals are rudimentary. In the seventh month features begin to acquire flesh and prominence, and in the eighth month the child is complete and begins to jump about. In the ninth month even its nails are there, and "the child kicks until its mother is terribly sick. It kicks itself out of the mother's body; it tears its nest (placenta) and so has to come out." This is on the whole a remarkably accurate idea of fetal development.

[192] Many different bits of behavior and attitudes dovetail with this idea [136] of procreation. One of these is that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. This in turn has its repercussion—in practice if not in theory—on sexuality. In theory, a young unmarried woman should be a virgin, although there is no idea of virginity tests at the time of marriage. However, should a husband shortly after marriage develop [113] feelings of nausea and a sense of discomfort just under the sternum, he will consult a seer. If the seer extracts a small piece of the fringe from a man's loincloth, this is considered a sign of the wife's premarital infidelity. The diagnosis of the difficulty is usually made by the patient. Nevertheless, the seer's role in fostering social conformity is not inconsiderable.

[153] Incidentally, infidelity, as previously noted, may affect children and [184] the marriage partner in this fashion at any time during the earlier years of marital adjustment. It is a nice expression of the hostility and yet of the basic bond among members of the biologic family. Also, a difficult [148] first birth is considered a sign of premarital unchastity. In one such case the tumukun was threatened with death by the irate husbands of a pair

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of sisters with whom he was accused of improper relations at least five years before, and prior to the women's marriages. Nothing of the affair had been suspected until both women had difficulty in childbirth and their husbands beat confessions out of them.

Since a child scarcely ever results from occasional lapses from chastity, both men and women feel free in that respect as long as they are careful not to be caught. When I explained to Fantan the interpreter that we had different ideas in our culture, his comment was, "Oh, that's too bad," which was a nice index of the amount of latitude the Atiuelangers' ideas of conception give them in respect to their ideas of sex morality. The very obvious advantage of such ideas of conception makes Atiuelangers, in discussing the subject, extremely unwilling to abandon them, even though they grant that sows will conceive after a single contact with a male. They are quick to add, however, that three or four days in the pen with a male produces a larger litter. It is a nice example of how reluctant people can be to abandon formulations justifying congenial behavior and consistent with elaborated attitudes.

It is interesting that, as in many other cultures, illegitimate children seldom, if ever, occur. In the Five Villages there was only one illegitimate child, the offspring of Matingma the Crazy Woman. Since Matingma's craziness was phrased mostly in terms of sex, her aberrant and almost unique status deserves mention here. Matingma was considered in her youth a perfectly normal person. She married a man in the Kalasi area with whom she did not get along, so she returned to live with her father. On her return several young men wished to buy her. Time after time a preliminary payment was made, but each time the man involved requested the return of her bride-price because she was having affairs with other men. Her father assumed a bland attitude toward these complaints, answering, "Your wife is still here. Go sleep with her if you wish. I won't be angry." After about four such episodes no further attempt to purchase her was made.

During the first few years after her return, and at a time when she was not in permanent residence with any one man, she bore a child. In view of the local theory of conception, she was undoubtedly considered to have been far more lax morally than she may actually have been. In the course of time she came to be known as the "crazy woman." Her illegitimate child and her profligacy were adduced as evidence. It will be recalled that the fact that she took her child to the fields with her and permitted it to sleep on the ground was another bit of evidence. At the time of this investigation Matingma was at least in her late thirties and had become a sort of village prostitute. "She steals

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§39 from people's gardens. Men from whose gardens she has stolen sleep
§36 with her as payment for the food she has taken. Very many older men
§48 sleep with her, but young men are not brave enough."

Reasons for the lack of illegitimate children are not hard to find. If
§44 Ashley-Montague's* suggestions are correct, it is quite possible that fertility is low at the period when young girls are indulging in premarital sexual activities. Further, mechanical abortions are practiced, and a
§47 pregnant girl would probably attempt to avoid difficulties by a deliberate and early miscarriage. Although the society does not approve, married women, particularly older ones, make no very great secret of the fact that they avoid unwanted children by very vigorous labor or by even more deliberate attempts, like jumping repeatedly from a tree or rock or by poking themselves in a squatting position against a stone. It is felt that these practices are most efficacious in the first two or three months, when the child is still in liquid form. Probably the accuracy of
§43 ideas on fetal development can be attributed in part to the practice of abortions.

●§42 There are also "medicines" that are supposed to reduce the menstrual flow, delay conception, and actually produce barrenness. In addition, women class themselves as "long conceivers" (*pol labu*) and "short conceivers" (*pol lui*). To be a long conceiver is considered an advantage. When a young man's wife fails to conceive after a year or two, he frequently becomes suspicious of her and may accuse her of having taken a medicine to cause barrenness. "A man will then beat his wife, and if she has taken such a medicine, she has to ask some older woman for the antidote."

§42 "Medicine" for any of the three purposes mentioned above seems
278 to belong more to the realm of magic than to that of effective pharmacology. Most procedures consist of eating certain leaves, like those of a sort of maidenhair fern, in a prescribed fashion over a given number of days. Another way of producing barrenness is to drink the dirty water in which one has washed a gong. This is again a reflection of the relationship, hostile in character, between sex and wealth. Men are never considered to be sterile, and birth control measures are never used by them.

§42 · At this point I am less concerned with establishing the possible but improbable efficacy of certain leaves and procedures in reducing menstruation and in delaying or preventing conception than I am in indicating a series of attitudes. The sum of what I have said so far seems to

* M. F. Ashley-Montague, *Coming into Being among the Australian Aborigines* (New York: Dutton, 1931), pp. 141ff.

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indicate that women are not too eager to bear children, that men are more eager for offspring than their wives. When I asked Fanon the interpreter about this, he said, "We men are the ones who want children. Our wives don't. They just want to sleep with us. After a young man has lived with his wife for a year or two and she does not become pregnant, he is angry. He says, 'I work and work every night. I break my back, but this woman does not conceive. I had better look for another wife.'" That this was not a personal aberration of Fanon's was evidenced by confidential statements made to me by three young men who were dissatisfied at their wives' lack of fertility.

The care of infants by men and boys and their affectionate attitudes toward babies have already been mentioned. Supporting the thesis that women are often less eager for children than men, were frank statements by two older women that they had committed abortions during their first pregnancies to spite their husbands, who were buying other wives. The low level of nurturing qualities in Alorese men is reflected in the absence of pets, with the exception of an occasional piglet, which has wealth value.

A further sociologic point that may have considerable weight is that neither men nor women are considered fully adult until they have children. Adulthood for men means financial status and a role in the prestige system, whereas for women it carries no such social premium, their life pattern is set in childhood and continues through life with only marriage as a break, and marriage per se does not confer adult status.

This subject of children and the wish for them — as well as such inclinations as I have that men prize them as much, if not more, than women — is far from exhausted, and there is some contradictory evidence. For instance, if women are generally reluctant to bear children, it is unlikely that questions on vital statistics put to sixteen women past the menopause would give 7.5 pregnancies per woman, and that miscarriages and abortions were only 10.5 per cent of one hundred and twenty-one recorded conceptions for these sixteen women. Here, of course, social disapproval of contraception and abortion may have acted as a deterrent.

JEALOUSY

That men are not incapable of jealousy toward their children is acutely illustrated by the episode in the autobiography of Kolmani the Seeress in which Langmai, her husband, reproaches her for neglecting her field work in favor of their child. In this connection, and in contradiction to some of the preceding data that have stressed the men's desire for children, it should be noted that there were in the community

[93] him and quarrels among the wives. A duty of the senior wife is to cook for the husband's guests and to take the initiative in contributing food to his feasts. The feasts are supposed to be held at the house of the senior wife. These duties may at times be considered in the light of a privilege and any infringement may be resented by her. At other times an infringement may make the second wife feel that she is imposed upon. For example, the tumukuri's two wives, who had a long history of mutual hostility, once spent almost four hours shouting recriminations at each other on just this score. The senior wife precipitated the quarrel by harvesting a small patch of corn which the junior wife claimed. Their quarrel resolved itself into complaints on the part of the younger woman about the extra work and the consumption of her food involved in entertaining the tumukuri's guests at her house, the older woman complained of favoritism and the extra attentions received by the second wife.

Not all wives remain in initial scene of hostility and jealousy. For instance there were two cases of older men with three wives each. In both cases the wives got along very well together and cooperated freely. It was generally recognized that they were good friends, although there had been the customary quarrels at first.

It is worth noting in this picture of jealousy that both men and women direct physical and verbal expressions of jealousy and anger primarily against other women. Men are less subject to open and violent attack on this score. This may constitute an unconscious expression of the fact that women, primarily as producers, are basically the most valued possession of the group. The structure of financial prestige built around the male may be compensatory in function.

POSITION OF WOMEN

[82] From what has already been said it is evident that the power of women is far greater than a phrasing of their status in terms of finance would imply. In other words, their control of food gives them power over people but no prestige.

Women are also the pivots on which many of the financial transactions turn through the system of affinal exchange. A number of these indicate men's dependency upon women. For example, I asked repeatedly of men at the time their wives were about to give birth, whether they would prefer a boy or a girl. The answer was invariably, [83] "Boys are good. They give our death feasts. But girls are also good. We [84] get their bride-price."

[85] Another phenomenon that might possibly be interpreted as a recog-

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[139] them to me to eat, and the unripe ones we brought home and gave to my younger siblings.

[Was she glad to go to her husband's house to live?] I did not want to go, but father and mother spoke firmly to me, so I went. His house was at the other end of the village. I stayed there from then on. Helangfani took me there. She was the wife of Likma's father's brother. In the household were many people. Likma's parents were dead. In the house lived Likma, his paternal uncle, Maipada, and Maipada's wife, Helangfani. There also lived Mailang, Kolmani, Lamma, Lakamni, Atamni, Mariapada, and Atahibi. Most of these were grown up. Kolmani and I were the only children. Likma was already grown up. He was eighteen or twenty. From then on I forgot my family. I went all the time with Kaipada [the wife of Langmai] to fetch wood and water and to work in the garden. When I went there my husband wanted to sleep with me but I said that first he must buy my mother's strip of cloth. After one year father died. [Note the inconsistency with her previous statement.] Then my husband-raised pigs and used two to buy a strip of cloth for my mother. We slept together from then on. Mother lived a long time. [She died about 1931.]

[How long before the birth of a child?] I had been in Likma's house six years before Fulani was born. I took a contraceptive. [That is, she chewed a leaf. She showed signs of embarrassment when she spoke of this subject.]

[142 278]

December 26, 1938

Last night I dreamed that Fainau [the wife of Padata the Leper] made a feast in Karieta. She came to ask Likma for a dowry payment. He gave her a broken gong. She asked him to add a piglet to it. I said, "There is no pig and no dowry here for you. You come all the time asking for dowry payment." So Fainau said, "Your bride-price payment, a Kolmale moko, is waiting for you; so add a pig to the broken gong." But we did not want to, so she took the broken gong and we all went to Karieta with it. When we got there, there was in truth a Kolmale moko. When we wanted to take it, the chief of Karieta said, "Add a pig." We left the moko there and went away. Then I woke up. [This was probably not a dream but an actual account of the preceding day's activity.]

[187] When we went there, they were cooking pounded corn. That means someone in the house will die. The dream also means that I shall really give Fainau a dowry payment and get back a bride-price.

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159 694 Dikimpe, where the soldiers are now." So Malbata got young bamboo, split it, made a rope, and tied it around Langmai's neck and led him off. As they came near here they met Kapitan Jacob, who was Langmai's Female House. Kapitan Jacob saw them and said, "Who has tied up my Female House relative?" He untied the rope from around Langmai's neck. Then Malbata was afraid and took his case, not to the kapitan, but to the chief of Dikimpe. The chief said to wait a moment because he was going down to the other end of the village. Malbata was afraid the chief would call the soldiers, and he ran away. Then Kapitan Jacob said, "Oh, maybe you are one of the government officials and can tie up your subjects? Now you have let your bride-price go free. Now you can't ask for it any more." [Stop.]

159 [I reminded her that I wanted personal anecdotes. She said Yes, and repeated the content of the last few sentences without elaboration.]

When Langmai came back, I said, "You left me and went to stay with your widow. People came and tied you up. They put a rope around your neck. They didn't do that to you when you stayed with me." After that he lived with me, and for a time we stayed at Maikalieta's house again. Then we built the house we are in now and lived together. [Stop.] He said to me, "Kolmani, you stay as you are. Maybe you have become barren." I said, "You speak badly to me. You were the one who said to me that I could eat my own child and be replete. I guess I shall leave you permanently." [Stop.]

Langmai went to the chief and talked with him, saying, "I am alone. My brothers are all dead. My wife does not become pregnant. Perhaps I shall have no children." I too thought within my heart, "I have no family and am alone. Perhaps I shan't have any more children." [She here repeated the insult about eating her child and told how she went at the time to complain of it to her uncle Fanseni and her aunt Maraipada.

159 She said that at that time her uncle had urged her aunt to give her a 842 contraceptive. The blame for this immoral procedure was thus placed on her uncle and aunt.] So Maraipada gave me some medicine, which I ate. Then I didn't conceive for three years, and during that time my aunt and uncle died. I thought, "My husband is speaking the truth. Neither of us has a family. What shall I do to have children?" So I

159 went to Maikalieta's second wife, who divined and discovered that the 842 cause of my barrenness was the medicine Maraipada had given me. 787 Then she divined to see whether we should feed my aunt's and uncle's souls before using an antidote. [Stop.] I and Lonmobi went to feed the dead people's souls. She too had eaten Maraipada's medicine. As we

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were feeding the souls, my familiar spirit Lomani came. The dead people sent two tiny spiders, which hung down in front of me, and my familiar spirit saw them. I caught them and placed one on the hollow of my throat and one on the hollow of Lonmobi's throat. They were the souls of unborn children, and they entered our bodies. Then my familiar spirit said to Lonmobi, "You will be pregnant first, and then my mother [the informant] will be pregnant." We went to a spring and dammed up a place to make a small pool. We pounded the necessary leaves and tied them on our abdomens with vines. Then we cut the vines and let them fall into the pool. Shortly after that we were both pregnant. Lonmobi's child died. That was the time I bore Maieta [her son, now about fourteen].

April 26, 1939

Last night I dreamed that Maitama and Kolmai [his wife] went to Fungwati. As they came back over Manikameng [a ridge above the village], I saw them carrying a branch of a tree, holding it up in their hands. I asked them, "If that is areca, can we chew it?" They said, "Oh, if we hold this in our hands, our necks will get long. When we peel it, it is slippery." [The informant did not know what this meant.] When we approached their house, we saw that many people were gathered there. We looked back toward Manikameng and it was just hanging in air. [Stop.] I looked behind us and saw there were many albino rats with nice patterns in their fur. Some had no fur on their heads, so that you could see the bare skin. I said, "Those are evil rats; evil spirits are in them. Formerly we were afraid, but now the nonya is here and we are not afraid any more. We shall go tell her to bring her gun, and we shall shoot them." Then I woke up.

What shall I talk about? [I answered that she should talk of whatever entered her mind.]

I gave birth to Kolaka [her daughter, about three years old]. While she was still small, she cried all night long and would not stop. Then Lopada said, "If your child cries all the time, give her the name Kolaka and she will stop." [Stop.] I said to people, "Tell me what kind of a person my mother was. Was she light or dark? [Kolaka had very light skin.] I was still small when she died, and I did not see her." People said she had scabies. That night I dreamed that my mother sat near my feet and that she did indeed have scabies. My mother was tickling my child because she was not named after her. This was why the child cried constantly. I went to Lopada with a chicken, and she said to change the

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en have greater responsibilities than others in the number they must provide for and are therefore more pressed by field work. On the other hand some women may have given birth during the middle of the dry season when labor in the fields is slack. Still others may be lazy about gardening. As a result some infants receive more care and food during the first months of life. If an infant is left in the hands of a father or sibling, it is going to be fairly hungry part of that time. The person caring for the child may give it gruel or premasticated food more or less conscientiously, but to judge from the frequency with which infants spew out such nourishment, one may suggest that such feeding is not very effective or satisfactory. One repeatedly sees infants trying to nurse at the breast of a father or immature sibling only to be pushed away with an attitude of mild embarrassment.

Rilpada told an anecdote of his childhood which reveals both the frustration infants may suffer from this type of feeding as well as the older sibling's frequent resentment of the role of nurse maid.

> Once mother and I were living in a field house near our gardens. She told me to carry Semsani [younger brother] while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to come and nurse him but she wouldn't. So I took Semsani, laid him down on a mat in the house and ran off to Polafeng. There from the ridge I shouted, "Mother, your child lies in the house. If you want to care for it, good. If you don't want to, that is also good. I am going to Atimelang to play."

The point to be made is that even during infancy, when children are quite generally delighted-in, and when they are rarely out of someone's arms, or at least someone's carrying shawl, gratification of hunger is frequently a disappointing experience. Feeding is irregular; intervals between nursing are so long that acute hunger may arise with either no means of gratifying it or gratification is offered in foods obviously less satisfactory than that which the mother offers. When the mother is home and not too busy, she will offer the child the breast whenever it is restless. However, I never heard any woman speak of the pleasure of nursing, which probably means no more than that the culture has not maximized this particular physical pleasure. Women, when asked, did generally say that they preferred child bearing to intercourse but almost invariably added, "Because children will give my funeral feasts." There were several women who said that they did not wish any more children because feeding them meant so much work. Economic organization, therefore, acts directly upon attitudes toward children and conditions the child's earliest experiences in respect to food in this society.

In Atimelang, therefore, the hunger tension of infants is not maximally met as in some societies where children are constantly in contact with their mothers and where the pattern of nursing is a consciously fostered gratification of both mother and child.

A still more serious feeding problem may arise when the child begins to walk, approximately between the thirteenth and eighteenth months. By the time it can manage to get about alone, it is left to play near the house or on the dance place in the center of the village.